Special Issue for Draftees

What Every Young Man Should Find Out About His Mother

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. III, NO. 31 AUGUST 15, 1955 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

A Startling Report Most of the Nation's Press Ignored Shows the Landy Case Far from Exceptional

How The Army Controls The Minds of Our Youth

The day Eugene William Landy was refused a commission in the Naval Reserve because his mother had once been a Communist a two volume study of military security cases was presented to the Secretary of the Army by Norman Thomas. While the Landy case made headlines, too little attention was paid the report. This shows the Landy case was no nightmarish accident, but the result of a system of screening in which it is not at all uncommon for the political sins of the parents to be visited on their children when they enter the Army.

The special report on "The Draftee and Internal Security" taken in protest to the Pentagon showed how often in the Army a boy's worst enemy turns out to be his mother. One hundred and ten cases were examined and 49 are set forth in detail. In no less than 11 of these, soldiers found themselves branded disloyal because of their mothers. A sample is the allegation served on Case No. 49, "You were closely associated," he was informed, "with your mother, ..., a reported Communist Party member, and continue to correspond with her." Soldier boys should check on Mama before writing home.

Even A Dead Mother-in-Law

Mothers are not the only menace. "The Draftee and Internal Security" shows that before wooing a girl it would be well to have *her* family tree examined by the FBI. A mother-in-law, though long dead, may prove as troublesome as a mother. In one soldier's case G2 reported that he had a mother-in-law "who was reported to have been 'lying low as a Communist for a long time' and was supposed to become active in the peace movement again." G2 did not add that the only peace movement in which she could possibly become active again was the Second Coming, since the lady in question was dead. Nor did the G2 summary, the report notes, "include the easily verifiable information that the alleged mother-in-law died in 1940, when the inductee was ten years old and ten years before he met the girl he married!"

The cases show that fathers, grandparents, brothers and sisters, in-laws, boyhood associates, chance remarks at school and books read at college may all come back to haunt one in the Army. Books, indeed, are a special Army bugaboo. Rowland Watts, author of the report, summarizes it by saying, "A careful study of the Army Military Personnel Security program . . . makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the ideal draftee is an only child of spontaneous generation who, despite a hermit childhood, has miraculously acquired the ability to read and write English but has never made use of these skills." The habit of reading can be as hazardous as the accident of birth.

This issue of the *Weekly* is entirely devoted to the Watts report, which is otherwise available only in a very limited edition of two bulky typewritten volumes reproduced by photo-offset. It shows the mindless machinery beginning to grind a nation's youth into conformity. It reveals that all the evils so familiar in the loyalty screening of government employes—anonymous charges, star chamber procedures, politically illiterate allegations, suspicion of the slightest liberal tendency—have spread to the armed services. The source and sponsorship of the report give it additional weight. Its author, Rowland Watts, a member of the Baltimore bar, is national secretary of the Workers Defense League, which represents the various Socialist, non-Communist and anti-Communist sections of the Left. A grant from the Fund for the Republic made the study possible. Kenneth M. Birkhead, national director of the American Veterans Committee, joined Norman Thomas in presenting the report at the Pentagon. It deserves the widest possible publicity and lays the basis for fundamental reform. It also—as its author notes—offers the labor movement a preview of the kind of mentalities and screening procedures to which workers would be subjected if the Department of Defense should succeed in getting the Butler bill for screening labor through the next session of Congress. What happens to the worker's son today may happen to the worker tomorrow.

A New Way to Blacklist

Indeed, as Watts points out, if the Butler bill does not pass, then "an almost as effective, albeit somewhat slower, resolution of the problem from the Army's standpoint is to screen the future labor force of the country as it passes through its hands and render it impossible for those it remotely suspects ever to enter an industrial plant." What the armed forces are doing is to give a less than honorable discharge with a notation showing that doubt about loyalty exists. Such a discharge is a bar to many kinds of employment.

In addition, since draftees move into the reserve for a number of years, they are liable during that period to an undesirable discharge if their political utterances and associations or those of their relatives and wives do not conform to Army standards. "It is inconceivable," Watts writes, "that the Congress intended to delegate to the Army political and social control over every young man subject to the Selective Service Law from the dawn of his mature understanding until he approaches thirty. Yet this is the effect of the Army's application of what it considers to be the law. Through the threat of an 'Undesirable' discharge, it says, 'Conform, not only on active service but for the full term of your developing maturity.'" The stronghold of freedom is doing its best to mobilize an army of the cowed. The pages which follow show how and why this is happening.

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Although the Army Defeated McCarthy in the Peress Case . . .

Politically McCarthy is dead, but his soul goes marching on. The Peress case, which led McCarthy into a frontal attack on the Army, still casts its shadow across the nation's youth. Loyalty regulations adopted by the Pentagon in panicky reaction to McCarthy's charges about the Brooklyn dentist are branding hundreds of youngsters on the very threshold of their careers. This is how the evil developed.

Though military service is not government employment, the armed forces in 1950 began to apply the Truman loyalty order to draftees. But those who were regarded as politically suspect or unreliable were barred from service or gotten rid of with an honorable discharge, as happened in the case of Dr. Peress. Under those circumstances at least no stigma was left on a man's record.

Somebody Should Warn Ike

"He [the inductee] was asked, 'Did you believe at one time that the government of the U. S. and the Communist government of Russia could co-exist in a peaceful manner?' He answered, 'Yes.' He was then asked, 'Do you entertain that thought at the present time?' He answered, 'No sir, my attitude is realistic about the matter.'" *—Case No. 11, P. 42, Vol. II, Watts Report*

Until the Army was frightened by McCarthy, its traditional policy was to give an honorable discharge to any man "whose conduct has been faithful and honest during his time in the service . . . notwithstanding what his conduct may have been prior to entering." The words are from the testimony of Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 18, 1954, during the famous "McCarthy investigation."

But, Stevens went on to explain, he had recently changed this. Where a man was discharged from the service because found to be subversive "his separation within the limits of the law should be under other than honorable conditions, *regardless of the actual character of the service rendered.*"

Making Soldiers or Informers?

"In one instance, at least, a federal investigative officer threatened the man (before induction) with difficulties in his military career if he did not become an informant on his alleged associations."
—Page 19, Vol. I, the Watts Report

In addition, Stevens testified, "when the evidence fails to show that he is disloyal or subversive, *but does establish that he is otherwise a security risk*, and should be eliminated, he is separated under honorable conditions, usually with a general discharge." Stevens did not add that the general discharge bears a code notation which shows that the separation was for security reasons. Such a general discharge carries a stigma and is as much a bar to many kinds of employment as an out-and-out dishonorable discharge.

But Valley Forge Wasn't A POW Camp And Washington Got Along Without Loyalty Questionnaires

"On cross-examination in discussing prisoners of war in Korea the following colloquy took place:

"WITNESS: 'We talked about it a little bit wondering why some of the guys wanted to stay over there since this is such a nice peace loving country. We felt that Red propaganda had a lot to do with it. They were depressed, lonely, hungry, beaten, subject to any kind of punishment. Of course you don't have a clear mind to think with.'

"PRESIDENT [of Army Loyalty Board]: 'At Valley Forge that didn't bother them very much did it?'
—Page 98, Vol. I, Watts Report

Watts points out in his report, "According to all other governmental policy either a person is adjudged a security risk or he isn't. If he is, or is adjudged to be, he is fired. If he isn't, he continues in employment and eventually draws a pension. Only the Army sets up a third security category, that of an 'almost subversive' and gives him a 'General discharge.'"

According to the regulations adopted in February, 1954, all draftees "prior to induction" are supposed to fill out a loyalty certificate, DD Form 98. [This was exposed shortly afterward in an article "Kafka Might Have Written The Army's Loyalty Form" in the *Weekly* of March 8, 1954.] The form requires full disclosure of all associations with any organization on the Attorney General's list.

The regulations provide that "known Communists will not be inducted into the Army Establishment" where there is admission of membership or "credible derogatory information." But Watts found that in not one of the cases he examined was the draftee given an opportunity to execute DD 98 prior to induction. "The tendency has been," Watts reported, "to rush the man through with the statement, 'if you aren't a Commie, sign it.'" In April, 1954, the Army added to the category of "security risk" anyone who pleaded the Fifth amendment (or its military equivalent, Article 31, Uniform Code of Military Justice) in refusing to answer any question.

The ostensible purpose was to apply to the Army the same

If G2's Charges Were True, One Inductee Was A Communist at The Age of Eight

The Kind of Allegations Which Figure in Army Loyalty Proceedings

"The allegations of 'derogatory information' filed against inductees have run the full gamut from the expected 'membership in the Communist Party' to remote degree of family relationship. Any association with one of the organizations listed by the Attorney General, however casual, will constitute an allegation. The organizations are by no means confined to the Attorney General's list, however. There have been included organizations which have been cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the California Committee on Un-American Activities, the Ohio Committee on Un-American Activities, etc., organizations which are anonymously 'reported' to have been dominated by members of listed organizations; and organizations which, as far as the allegation indicates, have been cited or reported by no one at all.

". . . Because of the youth of all of these men, most of the allegations concern activities of their mid or late teens, a high degree of them allegedly occurring before they were old enough to drive a car or publicly drink a beer in most states. In one instance, the alleged membership, if true, must have occurred when the inductee was eight. . . .

"Other allegations are so ambiguous or vague as to be impossible of definition, let alone rebuttal. Where the information in the confidential file has become available for inspection in summary form, it has sometimes revealed that it does not support the allegation for which it is supposed to be the basis. Most curious of all, however, are those allegations which are factually false on their face. . . . It would be interesting to hear the government's justification for submitting to a Field Board as evidence 'improbable information from an unreliable source.'"
—Pages 27-28 and 46, Vol. I, The Watts Report

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. . . It Knuckled Under to McCarthyism in Its Treatment of Draftees

standard established by Eisenhower for the government. As the Army counterpart of the Eisenhower loyalty order (SR 600-220-1) states, its purpose is "the rejection of persons who would otherwise be inducted or involuntarily ordered into the Army when retention in or acceptance into the Army is not clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

Despite this clear regulation, the Army goes on inducting "security risks." Admiral Radford explained why in his own testimony during the McCarthy inquiry.

"An easy solution to the problem," the Admiral told the Senate Armed Services Committee, "would be to issue orders to drop anyone about whom there was the slightest suspicion of disloyalty and declare as a suspect anyone who refused for any reason, including the Fifth amendment, to execute the loyalty certificate."

This is, indeed, what the regulation requires. But the Admiral said the services were afraid that if they did that young men might avoid military duty by pleading the Fifth amendment. "Therefore," the Admiral said, "we reluctantly accept as a solution, for lack of a better one, the taking of this type of young man into the service with certain safeguards. . . . He is to remain in the lowest enlisted grade during his tour of duty; he is not to be promoted . . . and he is not to have access to any classified information. He is to remain in this status unless he has a change of heart and voluntarily clears himself."

No Subversive Snorer He . . .

"The man being investigated is usually assigned to a 'Holding' company where it is safe to assume that a fair proportion of his fellows are either Counter-Intelligence or Battery-Intelligence men. One amusing manifestation of this was in the case where the man's company commander in Basic training testified as a character witness at the hearing a year later.

"When asked, on cross-examination, how he remembered so well this particular man of all the hundreds that passed through his command, he said he had been ordered to observe him; so he had assigned his squad leader and the men who 'slept to the right and left of him' to report everything he said and did. (He found 'no disloyalty.')"

—Page 24, Vol. I, Watts Report

But as the reader can see from the glimpses in this issue of the Watts report, it is not at all clear how a man can "clear" himself of charges and association as vague as those which figure in many of these cases. How clear yourself of having read a radical magazine, or been a member of the Young People's Socialist League, or having a mother or some other relative who was or is a radical? Short of enlisting as an informer, "telling" on one's own kin and resuming old associations for purposes of counter-espionage how can one demonstrate a "change of heart"?

Working In Israeli Kibbutz Suspect

"Allegations: June, 1954. . . .

"b. In ....., you worked on a Communist Collective Farm in Israel. . . .

"Answer: July, 1954. . . .

"b. I did work on said farm, but not with prior knowledge of it being Communist, and without any aid or sympathy toward their political philosophy. . . .

"First Hearing: August, 1954. . . .

"On cross examination he stated that he went to Israel to visit friends after one semester at Manchester College, England; that because of financial necessity he secured a job on the collective farm and discovered after about one week that it was communist operated. He notified the American Consul of this but continued working there for about three weeks. He stated further that the language barrier screened him from any real contact with the personnel."

—Case No. 11, Pps. 37-39, Vol. II, Watts Report

The induction of so-called "security risks" despite Army regulations and their submission to humiliating conditions of service and damaging conditions of discharge were calculated to appease McCarthy. "Coincident with the Senate Armed Services Committee's hearings in Washington," Watts reports, "the regulations were tightened not only in terms of the type of discharge but by curtailing the opportunity of the inductee adequately to reply to the allegations."

Until April, 1954, inductees were given thirty days to answer charges in writing—little enough especially for men overseas. But in April this was shortened to seven days. "With seven days to answer," Watts reports, "few could do more than pit their own written word against the unrevealed 'information' in the Confidential file."

In Korea, "one man found that he could not even see the applicable regulations. He was told that if any one of the allegations was true, it didn't make any difference whether he answered or not." Yet in his case the charges were not only vague but inaccurate. One was that "you distributed *Monthly Review*, a magazine published by the Independent Socialist League." The *Monthly Review* is not the organ of the ISL or of any other political group and neither the At-

Army G-2 Thinks Nation and New Republic Confuse Liberals

The Case of A Catholic Who Objected to "The Moral Implications of Strategic Bombing"

"The individual is presently 24 years old. He is a member of the Catholic church and attended ..... (Catholic) College in ..... His father, a lawyer, was formerly a member of the Board of Governors of ..... (Catholic) College and is well known in the community as a defender and counsel for allegedly Communist-front organizations. While in college, the individual participated in ROTC but was discharged from the Reserve Corps on the basis that he was not proper officer material. The reason given being that he did poor paper work and that he objected to the moral implications of strategic bombing.

"Inducted: August, 1953.

"Loyalty Certificate DD 98: About 12 or 13 days after induction. Claimed the Federal Constitutional Privilege, but stated that his loyalty to the Pope as a Catholic might be considered to be loyalty to a foreign power. . . .

"G2 Summary contains such information as:

" 'Subject's political beliefs were such many people would accuse him of being 'pink' but that he should be classified as an idealist who believes in speaking out for what he thought is right; he did not think the Rosenbergs had a fair trial; his father is a member of the National Lawyers Guild. . . .

" 'Subject possessed a copy of the Reporter dated 20 September 1953, and also had copies of the New Republic and one of the Nation. Files indicate that the Nation and the New Republic both have long records as liberal publications; that they cannot be described as Communist, but they are so infiltrated with the Communist Party policy that they serve the interests of Communists and confuse liberals on many issues.' "

—Case No. 31, Pps. 101-2, Vol. II, Watts Report

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Call This to The Attention of Your Senators and Congressman

torney General nor any other official body has ever so listed it.

The Watts report says the present system acts:

"1. To burden the Army with men it claims it doesn't want and to force it to create a vast and expensive system of detection, investigation, hearing and determination in a field to which it is ill-fitted and ill at ease.

"2. To make it assume the role of jailor of those who are charged with no crime.

"3. To permit it to assess punishment of life-time duration (through the discharge) upon those who have committed no offense against the Army."

The Watts report proposes that the whole Military Personnel Security Program be scrapped, and a new one adopted on new premises. Under these the Army would be responsible for men only during their terms of active service, grant discharges solely on the basis of service rendered, and grant men in security cases "the same full hearing rights that are guaranteed him by the Uniform Code of Military Justice in defending himself against any other charge."

"Within the limits of established standards of eligibility and procedure," the Watts report concludes, "the Army must be the sole judge of whom it will permit to serve in its ranks and that judgment will be based solely on its military needs; therefore, the Army will not accept into service anyone who is not in a position to be permitted to serve fully in accordance with his capabilities."

Norman Thomas, the Workers Defense League and the American Veterans Committee have performed a public service of the first magnitude in presenting this report to the Secretary of the Army. Now that Congress is disbanded, readers should call it to the attention of their Congressmen and Senators and urge them to put pressure on the Army. The report discloses a system of nationwide surveillance and thought control in the armed forces that shames our freedom-loving pretensions. When boys can be blacklisted for life because of their mothers, something is seriously wrong with our America.

What One Court Said

"An honorable discharge is an extremely valuable property right as well as a personal right and to deprive a person of an honorable discharge is to deprive him of property rights, as well as civil rights and personal honor. To destroy such a certificate of title . . . in an arbitrary way in a unilateral proceeding, is contrary to our ideas of democracy.

—U. S. v. Keating, 121 Fed. Supp. 477

Jews and Negroes

"The individual had two interviews with Army Security officers. At the first interview two civilians were present and were believed to be S-2 agents. In the course of the interview, one of them asked him, 'did you know that there were many Jews at the University of ..... (the school the individual attended)?' Another question was asked to this effect: 'why did you, a white person, belong to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?'"

—Case No. 8, p. 25, Vol. II, Watts Report

"The Army Seems Afraid of Books"

"A final alarming tendency is detected in the [Army Loyalty] Board's questions. The Army seems afraid of books and reading. Repeatedly witnesses are asked: 'Does he read?', 'Does he do much reading?' 'What books does he read?' Music and art also arouse suspicious concern, until we reach this stage:

"Q. 'What do you mean by an intellectual? Does that mean you question our present way of living and our present Government? Is that what you mean by an intellectual? In other words, you don't accept for face value. Is that what you mean?

"A. 'An intellectual is a person who questions everything, even his fact of living, the fact that he even exists. He is more on a philosophical level than political level.'

"Q. 'Does it mean that you consider our form of Government open to question, and you're not too firm about defending our form of government?'

"A. 'No, it doesn't mean that. I'm very firm about defending our form of government. It doesn't mean that at all.'

"Q. 'You're loyal to our form of government?'

"A. 'Yes, sir.'

"Q. 'You are intellectual up to that degree?'

"A. 'Well, looking back on my adolescent experiences, I can laugh with you.'"

—Pages 58-9, Vol. I, Watts Report

The Weekly is published 48 times a year. It does not go to press the last two Thursdays in August or December. The next issue will be Sept. 5. We wish our readers a pleasant vacation, too.

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